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TWO QUESTIONS

CONSIDERED:

WHAT IS IT THAT WE HAVE TO DEFEND?

AND

AGAINST WHOM?

BY A TRUE-HEARTED BRITON.

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TWO QUESTIONS

CONSIDERED

WHAT IS IT THAT WE HAVE TO CONSIDER

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TWO QUESTIONS CONSIDERED.

*What is it that we have to defend?—And
against whom?*

MY DEAR COUNTRYMEN,

WHILE you are engaged in active preparation to repel a threatened invasion, two questions naturally present themselves to your minds—namely, What is it that you are about to defend? And against whom? I beg your attention for a few minutes, while I consider these questions, as on the answer which, upon due reflection, you shall give to them, will depend in a great measure the vigour of your defence, and, perhaps, its success.

As to the first question, it is your COUNTRY that you have to defend;—The land where you first drew your breath—where you were taken care of while in a state of helpless infancy—where you passed the playful years of childhood—where you employed your youth in preparing for the various

useful occupations which you have since exercised—where you formed those attachments and friendships which have been your past comfort, and on which you chiefly depend for your future happiness—where many of you, with weeping eyes, have laid your fathers and mothers, and almost all of you some dear relation or other in the cold ground, and where, when it shall please Providence to call you hence, you expect your weeping children to perform the same mournful office for yourselves.

Consider, for a moment, what valuable interests are exposed when your country is attacked. Not merely your persons and property, but your dearest relatives and friends—the wives of your bosoms, and the girls of your hearts—your aged parents and your tender offspring—your hopeful sons and your blooming daughters—the fruits of your past labour, and the means of your future subsistence—your homes and fire-sides—your enjoyments in prosperity, and your comforts in adversity—your holy religion—your lawful government—your rights, liberties, and national independence.—In short, there is nothing that can deserve your regard, either in life, or in death, which you do not defend when you defend your country.

Mankind have naturally so great a regard for their native country, that they are always ready, without a moment's hesitation, to risk their lives in its defence, and whenever a man has been the least backward in so doing, he has been justly and universally considered as an object of contempt and abhorrence. There is no exception to this rule, and the most savage and uncivilized nations, on whom their country has scarcely bestowed any favour but that of mere existence, defend with invincible courage the soil that gave them birth. But what a country have *you* to defend! there is none other like it on the face of the earth. It is a
country

country to which it is, indeed, an honour to belong. Its name commands respect in every part of the habitable globe. It contains more freedom, more virtue, and more happiness, than all the rest of the world together. The Rev. Dr. Price, before he was dazzled and led astray by the modern French doctrines, was fully sensible of the value of the blessings peculiar to this country; and in a sermon preached by him, at Newington Green, Nov. 29, 1759, he made the following just and truly patriotic observations. “ But there is a still higher in-

“ stance of our distinguished happiness to be men-

“ tioned. I mean the liberty we are blessed with.

“ There is no country where this is enjoyed in

“ such extent and perfection.”—“ While other

“ nations groan under slavery, we rejoice in the

“ possession of liberty and independency. Our

“ rights and properties are, in general, secured to

“ us beyond the possibility of violation. Every

“ man among us can enjoy the fruits of his indus-

“ try, without restraint or disturbance. The

“ meanest of our fellow subjects cannot have the

“ least injury done him without being able to find

“ redress. No life can be taken away, or any

“ punishment inflicted on any one, without a fair

“ and equitable trial. But our religious liberty is

“ the crown of all our national advantages. There

“ are other nations who enjoy civil liberty as well

“ as we, though not perhaps so completely. But

“ with respect to religious liberty we are almost sin-

“ gular and unparalleled. All sects enjoy the

“ benefit of toleration, and may worship God in

“ whatever way they think most acceptable to him,

“ and nothing exposes any person to civil penalties

“ or censures, but overt acts, inconsistent with the

“ peace and security of society.”—And again,

“ How happy is it for us that our lot has been

“ cast in such a land; a land which has the best

“ constitution of government, the best laws, the
 “ best king, and the best religion in the world.
 “ WHAT SHAME OUGHT TO CONFOUND THAT
 “ MAN, WHO IN SUCH A COUNTRY CAN EN-
 “ TERTAIN ONE FACTIOUS THOUGHT, OR
 “ DISCOVER THE LEAST RELUCTANCE IN
 “ CONTRIBUTING HIS PART TOWARDS ITS
 “ SUPPORT.—How do I wish that I had a voice
 “ which could reach and penetrate the hearts of all
 “ my countrymen, that I might make them more
 “ deeply sensible of their unspeakable happiness,
 “ and convince them effectually, that THERE
 “ NEVER WAS A PEOPLE WHO HAD SO MUCH
 “ REASON TO SHEW THEMSELVES VALIANT.”

Such was the description given of this country so long ago as the year 1759, by a man, who certainly could not be suspected of undue partiality; and since that time our political advantages have even increased, and whatever permanent alterations have taken place, have been in favour of liberty.

But I refer it to your own feelings and experience, if all this be not true, and whether your country does not possess every recommendation that can make it dear to your hearts. Think for a moment on its high cultivation and improved agriculture—on its verdant meads and rich harvests—on its unrivalled shipping, trade, commerce, and manufactures—on its collieries, mines, and fisheries. Think on the security which all these blessings afford, for the continuance not only of its greatness and prosperity as a nation, but of the individual comfort of its inhabitants.—Think of these numerous channels, by which it secures constant employment for labour and ingenuity; so that the industrious man needs never to fear the want of a day's work, or of a meal's meat. Think on its numerous charities, its benevolent institutions—on the anxious care with which the law provides for the sick, the infirm,

and

and the aged—on the liberality with which the rich are ever ready to relieve the distresses of the poor. But above all think of that admirable Constitution by which all these inestimable advantages are protected, and from which they are, in a great measure, derived. A Constitution which has so long been the boast of Britons, and the envy of the world. In transmitting to us this Constitution, our ancestors thought they left us the most valuable inheritance upon earth: and they thought justly. Let us, like them, be sensible of its value, and let us be equally solicitous to transmit it to our descendants.

It is true, within a few years, some persons have laboured very hard to put you out of conceit with your Constitution, and to persuade you that you would be much happier if you were to exchange it for the new French system of liberty and equality. You cannot forget what fine descriptions were made of this system, what lavish promises were held forth of the benefits which would result from it? Were you not told by its favourers that you and your forefathers had been in the dark—that you had not only been deprived of your rights, but that you were ignorant of them? That you were mistaken in thinking yourselves free, nay, that you had no Constitution at all; and that France had found out a way which would lead you and all mankind to wisdom, virtue, and happiness. It was not very likely that our vain and coxcomical neighbours, the French, whom we had always considered as a set of dancing chattering monkies, should make discoveries which had escaped the wisest men of this country. But the love of novelty is so strong, and the scenes which were presented to our eyes were so bright and captivating, that some among us, and even Dr. Price himself, whom

whom I have just quoted, were tempted to believe that the Revolution in France was a fine thing, and that it was about to introduce a very favourable change in human affairs. How very differently from such expectations have matters turned out! Instead of happiness what inexpressible misery has the French Revolution been attended with! Instead of freedom, what intolerable slavery and oppression has it produced! How wretched has it made, not only the French people, but a great part of Europe! What blood has it spilt! What crimes has it engendered! How happy is it for us that we did not accept the offer of the new system of the Rights of Man! When did our Constitution appear to such advantage—when was it so truly valuable as at this moment! What a striking contrast does it exhibit to the grinding tyranny which the French rulers exercise under the name of freedom!—What a blessed security does it afford us against the galling chains with which those rulers have bound so many millions of the human race!

Together with your country you have to defend one of the best kings that ever sat on a throne. A king who loves you as a father loves his children—whose cares are always directed to your good—who has scarcely a wish but for your happiness, and has done every thing in his power to promote it—who possesses every quality that can endear him to his subjects—who in his private life sets you an example of regularity, virtue, and piety which you cannot follow without being happy—and who has recently and solemnly declared that he will stand or fall with his people. Are not your hearts warmed with such a declaration? Can you refrain from replying in strains of dutiful and affectionate loyalty; *and we will stand or fall with our beloved sovereign?*

Having

Having such a King, and such a Country to defend, methinks I hear you say—what matters it against whom they are to be defended, since we are ready to oppose, with true British spirit, any enemy who may wish to attack them? I feel the force of this observation; but still it is of some importance that you should be aware what kind of enemy you have now to deal with, what it is which he threatens, and what are the means on which he depends to carry his threats into execution.

The enemies against whom we have to defend every thing that is valuable to us are our old rivals and restless neighbours the French—the ancient and inveterate enemies of this country—the scourge of Europe—the unceasing disturbers of human repose. They have always, by their ambition, injustice, and perfidy, rendered themselves the just objects of our suspicion and detestation, and it has for centuries required all our care and vigilance to prevent them from overwhelming the rest of Europe. But lately they have thrown off all those restraints which had kept them in order at home—they have overturned their government—murdered their king—renounced their religion—given a loose to all their diabolical passions and propensities, and shed the blood of above two millions of persons, men, women, and children, of their own country. In short they have completely verified the description given of them by one of their own countrymen, who knew them well, and who said that they were *either monkies or tygers*. Monkies we knew them to be (as I have before observed) and now they are universally known to be the most furious and blood thirsty tygers that ever roamed about for prey.

Having brought their own country into a state of inexpressible wretchedness, they seem to wish for no other relief than to render the rest of the world

as miserable as themselves. Unfortunately they have made a great progress towards the attainment of this wish. Many a fine country have they plundered, ravaged, and covered with blood and slaughter. Many a flourishing state have they subjected to their merciless dominion; and it deserves to be remarked that they have behaved worst to those countries, which have been most friendly and submissive to them, and most cautious not to give them offence.

It should, however, be remembered that they are more indebted for their successes to their principles than to their arms. But for the former the latter would easily have been repelled. It is well worth your while, my countrymen, to reflect for a moment on the means by which they have subdued so large a portion of Europe.

Ever since the commencement of their revolution, they have had their emissaries or agents in every country, to propagate their doctrines and excite conspiracies and insurrections. These men begin with enlisting in their cause, the profligate, the turbulent, and the disaffected, who are taught to form themselves into clubs, the members of which are indefatigable in their endeavours to make converts of others. Every one who is at all discontented, is soon prevailed on to join them, in the hope that he shall better his condition. But unfortunately they find it no difficult matter to render many persons discontented who were not so before. For this purpose they particularly address themselves to the persons who fill the lower classes of society, and who having but a small portion of the goods of fortune, are easily rendered dissatisfied with their apparent inferiority. And as these persons are too much engaged in their useful occupations to acquire habits of study and reflection, they

they are not likely to discover either the fallacy, or the mischief of the seductive doctrines, artfully termed the *Rights of Man*. They are easily prevailed upon to judge by appearances, and to wish for a change, under an idea that no change can be injurious to them. They do not consider that labour is the lot of man; that there is no happiness, no utility without it; and that those who labour with their hands, and can whistle while they work, though not so rich, are quite as happy, if not happier than those who labour with their heads, as they have fewer cares, sounder sleep, keener appetites, and better health.

Thus, as has been justly said in an useful publication,* it is the object of the Modern Rights of Man, “to create restlessness and dissatisfaction; “to persuade mankind that they suffer injuries “which they do not perceive, that they sustain “hardships which they do not feel, that their comforts are visionary, and their happiness mere delusion; in short, these doctrines find men happy, “prevail on them to believe that they are not so, “and in the end render them miserable.”

Besides these artful endeavours to render the bulk of mankind dissatisfied with their individual condition, the French missionaries and their disciples are constantly employed in pointing out the defects which are inseparable from all human establishments, and which, indeed, are founded in the imperfection of human nature. And as they boldly promise (for what is so easy as to promise,) to remedy all these defects, and to introduce absolute perfection in their stead, they cajole numbers, even of the well-meaning part of society, whom they inspire with a

* Protest against T. Paine's “Rights of Man.”

wish to try a system which is to render earth a heaven. Experience is sure to prove the folly of listening to such statements—but then the mischief is done; and the unhappy victims bewail their credulity, amidst the horrors of domestic anarchy, or Gallic oppression.

When by such arts a country has been sufficiently prepared by the operation of French principles, it is attacked by French arms. You will readily conceive that when a great part of a nation is poisoned by discontent, disaffection, and desire of change, it is not likely to make a very strenuous resistance to a foreign enemy. I dare say you remember, in the best of books, a story of the destruction of a city by the following stratagem: The sons of Jacob were exasperated with the Shechemites, because the prince of that city had debauched their sister Dinah. In order to gratify their revenge, they pretended that they were willing (at the request of the king) to give their sister in marriage to the ravisher, and themselves to intermarry with the daughters of the city, and in short, to form a friendly and *fraternal* alliance, provided only that the male inhabitants should be all circumcised. To this both prince and subjects consented; but while, in consequence of the operation, this unfortunate people were incapable of defending themselves, two of the sons of Jacob rushed upon them, slew them with the sword, and laid waste the city. Thus do the French make an easy conquest of countries which they have previously circumcised with their principles.

Still farther to facilitate their progress, they proclaim that they mean only to bestow freedom and happiness on those whom they attack. In the year 1792, before they attacked this country, they published a decree called the Decree of Fraternity: by this
decree

decree they openly offered assistance and fraternity to all people who might wish to recover their liberty: and to render the effect universal, they ordered the decree to be translated into all languages. So likewise, about the same time, they solemnly declared, that though they engaged in war, they would make no conquests; and in conformity to such artful professions, the march of their armies is always preceded by a Manifesto that they mean nothing unfriendly to the people, but rather to deliver them from oppression, and to secure to them their rights and independence. How have these promises been kept!!!

By the aid of such artifices, they have over-run and laid waste a great part of Europe, and by fraud they have effected what they never could have accomplished by force. By wiles and treachery they have just subdued the gallant Swiss, and I doubt whether they have obtained a single victory for which they were not indebted to similar means. In short, they may be compared to the spider, who first surrounds the incautious fly with a subtle web, and then preys upon the helpless victim.

Finding, however, that their principles are not likely to be generally received in this country, they are now trying what they can do under the mask of reform. It is all one to them how they succeed, and they are so artful that they can change their disguise as often as it suits their purpose so to do. This is the most dangerous of all their artifices, because it is likely to impose upon the greatest number of persons. Reform is a specious word, and no one can cast his eyes around him, without seeing that much of the thing which that word expresses is wanted. But he must be easily deceived who can be prevailed on to think that the reform which the French wish us to adopt, would do us any good.

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Their

Their undoubted and declared wish is the destruction of our government, in order to effect our total destruction as a nation. And they know, by experience, that a government is more easily destroyed under the pretext of reform, than in any other way. They therefore endeavour by their agents to induce you to set about such a reform, that you may do their work for them. But surely there can need no better reason for your refusing to do a thing, than their wishing you to do it. You may be certain that whatever they recommend would be hurtful and destructive. Under this artful pretext, their emissaries have lately been endeavouring to corrupt our brave soldiers, well knowing that these loyal men would spurn at any proposal directly inconsistent with their fidelity. I have no doubt that these gallant fellows will be proof against all endeavours to seduce them, and that they will manfully defend their King and Country against all attacks; but I wish they would remember that their honour as soldiers and as men, calls upon them to resent every attempt to entice them from their duty. Such attempts are the grossest insults that can be put upon them. Whenever any person seeks to confer with them privately, they may be sure that he intends something wrong. If a man means no harm, he never seeks concealment, but acts and speaks openly. They should bear in mind, that the enemy who dares not meet them in the field, would rejoice to ensnare and mislead them, and draw them into a state of mutiny. But I am sure British soldiers will never consent to be the tools of France.

Having mentioned the subject of Reform, I will take this opportunity of observing, that as states consist of individuals, the only sure way of reforming a state, is by reforming the individuals who compose it. The old proverb, *let every one mend*

one,

me, contains the true principle of Reform.—If this principle were acted upon, it would necessarily lead to a reform of public abuses. But to begin with endeavouring to reform a government, is to begin at the wrong end.

With regard to your own government, I wish you to consider what you can expect from reform. I appeal to yourselves, whether you are not as completely protected in your persons and property, as you can hope to be, at least without a stricter police. Can any one of you say that he is afraid of any oppression or injustice from his rulers, or superiors? Is not the law the same for the highest and the lowest? Is not justice impartially and equally administered to all? Can any man be punished who has not broken the laws? In short, is there any danger but what arises from the wickedness of individuals? Do you not enjoy as much liberty as can possibly exist in a well-regulated state? I put it to your consciences, whether you do not feel yourselves perfectly free to say and do whatever you please, provided you mean no wrong. What can you desire more? Reform (that is to say, in its modern sense, an alteration of your government,) may, and certainly would, occasion the loss of all these advantages, but it cannot increase them. If you wish for more happiness, there is but one way of obtaining it, which is by becoming more industrious, more virtuous, and more religious;—by going regularly to church, and performing the duties which are there taught: and instead of wasting your money at the ale-house, by carrying it home to make your wives and children comfortable, or laying by as much as you can spare, against a rainy day. By such means, indeed, you may be as happy as it is possible to be in this world—Perfect happiness, you should remember, is reserved only for the next.

Having described the enemies against whom we have to defend our King, Country, and Constitution, and with them every thing that can make life desirable, I have very little more to say. It is our own fault if we are not sufficiently on our guard against these enemies. They no longer attempt to conceal their designs against us. We are evidently the distinguished objects of their hatred and malice, and our destruction is the grand wish of their hearts. While we are happy and prosperous, they cannot enjoy, in safety, the fruits of their plunder of the rest of Europe. They openly declare their determination to attempt the CONQUEST of our Island. They pant to gratify their ancient hatred against us, and to pay off the old score of vengeance which has been forming for centuries. They are impatient to revenge all the victories by which we have curbed their ambition, and defeated their favourite project of universal empire. They long to punish us for our greatness and prosperity; for having eclipsed their trade, subdued their navy, maintained the sovereignty of the ocean, and thereby protected the trade of the world. They openly threaten "to punish us for
 "outrages, which (they say) have been too long
 "unpunished." * "To carry vengeance into
 "the midst of our country." † "To punish
 "Albion for its long catalogue of crimes against
 "humanity." ‡ And to treat us as the Romans

* See the Speech of the President of the Directory to Buonaparte, when the latter presented the Ratification of the Peace with the Emperor.

† See the Address of the Deputation of the Merchants of Paris to the Directory, respecting a Loan to be secured in this country.

‡ See the Speech of Jean De Brie, in the Council of Five Hundred, upon the Message of the Directory, respecting the above Loan.

treated

treated the Carthaginians, by exterminating us as a people from the face of the earth. In short, they come against us, as Mr. Sheridan most justly and forcibly expressed it in the House of Commons, "not for glory, territory, or dominion; but for our ships, commerce, credit, and capital. They come for the sinews, the bones, the marrow, the very heart's blood of Great Britain."

I know, my Countrymen, with what contempt you hear the threats of these blustering bullies. I know with what a noble indignation, with what emotions of honest pride, you say—Have, then, these gasconading Frenchmen forgotten the battles of Agincourt, Cressy, and Poitiers; where our ancestors fought and vanquished them on their own soil? And do they think that we are so degenerated as to suffer them to take possession of ours?

Have they already forgotten the names of Howe, Jervis, and Duncan? Or do they hope to subdue the prowess, or baffle the vigilance of the fleets which conquered under those gallant Admirals?—Nay, if we had no victorious fleets to meet them at sea, do they conceive it to be in their power to compel Britons to submit to their galling yoke? Let them come when they will, they will find us ready to receive them. They will find the British Lion as terrible as ever. And they will find that there is one nation at least, which has spirit and energy to repel their attacks, and to make them repent their insolence and presumption.

In these sentiments, my dear Countrymen, I recognise that spirit which ever has, and, I trust, ever will animate the breasts of Britons. And when I reflect merely on the *force* of your enemy, my mind is perfectly at ease, as I know that you will neither omit any precaution which prudence can require,

require, nor any exertion which spirit can suggest. I know that you will assist your government in making every preparation, not merely to frustrate the attack of the enemy, but to prevent him from doing much mischief before he is defeated.

The Voluntary Contributions, for the Defence of the Country, afford a most satisfactory pledge that the British people will omit no exertion, to preserve themselves from the ruin with which they are threatened. Those contributions have already attained a considerable amount; but I cannot help thinking that a measure which is so admirably calculated to frustrate the views of the enemy, whose chief reliance is on the failure of our resources, will be crowned with still more compleat success. The hourly increasing danger cannot fail to give a fresh impulse to every heart. The approach of the enemy must surely quicken every exertion. I do not despair of seeing the contributions swell to a much larger extent; and I am sure they ought not to be closed while the enemy is at our gates. What terror must it strike into the foe to hear, that, in the country which they are preparing to attack, people of all ranks and descriptions, of all ages and parties, have contributed, according to their respective ability, for the common defence. Valuable as the contributions of the wealthy may be in aid of the revenue, I must be allowed to say, that I set even a greater value upon those of the inferior classes, who have come forward in a manner which does them infinite honour. What a glorious and animating scene is it to behold the labourer, the mechanic, and the artisan, bringing in, as they have done, in many places, and as I trust they will do in many more, a day's pay, as an earnest of the noble stand they are determined to make in the defence

fence of their country. Such a country has nothing to fear—such a people are invincible*.

It would be the grossest insult that can be offered you, to suppose that this sea-girt isle, with more than eight millions of such inhabitants as you, can be forced to submit to France. But dismissing every idea of fear as to the event of a fair and open contest, let me remind you, that you must be *vigilant*, as well as *valiant*; that you have more to dread from the artifices of the enemy, than from his force; that when he finds it impossible to conquer you, he will not despair of effecting his purpose by fraud and deceit. Against his arts I conjure you to be on your guard, as much as against his bayonets and artillery—Remembering always, that he has succeeded more by his principles, than by his arms; and that he has done more mischief to his friends, than to his enemies.

In one word, my dear countrymen, cherish the principles and follow the example handed down to you by your forefathers.—Be loyal to your King—be faithful to your Country—be true to yourselves. Exert your native spirit and vigour—lay aside, in the moment of danger, all political differences, all party animosities; and think only of acting with union and energy against the common enemy. So shall you preserve the inestimable blessings by which you are distinguished from the rest of the world.—

* The parish of Litcham, in the County of Norfolk, much to its honour, first witnessed this glorious spectacle. At the call of the Meeting of the principal Inhabitants, assembled to promote the plan of Voluntary Contributions, every labourer of that parish, without exception, cheerfully gave his day's pay for the Defence of his Country. This example would, I doubt not, be followed in every parish in the kingdom, if a similar call were addressed to this valuable description of men.

So

So shall Britain still glory in her sons, and transmit
her independence and her greatness to generations
yet unborn.

A TRUE-HEARTED BRITON.

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THE END.

